1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest resources was also open to everyone. The Department of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

[7] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. During planting and harvest times the price is $0.25 a *carga* (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a *carga*. Some people in Angáhuan make a business of taking firewood to Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where *ocote* (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p. 17a]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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311 boundary with Aranza and Cheranástico (pl. 1, upper left). The second most important "plain" is south and southeast of the town and extends on the east to the boundary with Nahuatzen. On the north and south the plain is bounded by hills and mountains, on the west by the slope to *el plan*. This area is usually referred to as Sharicho (šaričo). The *"plan* of Arantepacuaro" is south of the range of mountains of San Marcos, and extends to the boundary of Arantepacuaro on the south. The fourth and smallest "plain" of importance is northeast of the mountain of El Pilón.

Patches of sloping land under permanent cultivation are found scattered throughout the *municipio*. A large number of plots are found on the slope between *el plan* and the town and on the lower, gentler slopes of many mountains and cinder cones. These lands may be fenced or, more commonly, protected by deep ditches with hedges of agave on each side. Thorny crab apple or other fruit trees sometimes are also planted along ditches. Weak spots may be guarded by thorny brush and poles (pl. 4, lower left).

The so-called "joyas" are usually patches of only a few acres, often in isolated places far from town. They may be fenced or ditched to keep out animals and, like the other areas, are privately owned. Unless they are unusually fertile, *"joyas"* are cultivated only every other year.

The garden plots are within the town proper. In a few cases they may occupy an entire block, but normally they are merely part of a building lot (*solar*). Few of them are as large as half an acre. They are fenced and, unlike any other areas, they are cultivated every year.

Temporary fields are created by clearing the forest on community lands. Permission must [656] be obtained from the Federal Department of Forestry, Hunting and Fishing. Extra forest [651] taxes must be paid, but charges are nominal. Usually the areas cleared are steep and the soil is poor and badly leached. Frequently, serious erosion results from such fields. Although cultivated only in alternate years, these fields are short-lived and are abandoned after a decade or so. Only use rights exist for such fields and after abandonment they revert to the public domain.

1:Beals E-8 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

463 non-material things, such as "prayers" or *rezadores*, midwives, curers, and witches, are also left for consideration in other sections of this paper.

253 *Butchers.*—Except for *mayordomías* and large weddings, butchering of cattle and pigs is carried on by a group of specialists. Usually two butchers share a beef so the stock can be moved more rapidly. If the meat does not sell rapidly enough, part of it may be dried.

[347] All cattle are butchered at a "slaughter house," a stone-paved area with a ramada. The property is privately owned by Seferino Fabian, mayor of the town in 1940, but he made no charge for its use. A tax is charged of 5 pesos or more, depending on the size of the animal.

[651] Part of the tax goes into the municipal treasury and the balance is forwarded to the State treasury. Usually from four to nine animals a week are slaughtered.

When cheese is scarce in the market, the number of animals slaughtered is higher than at other times.

Pigs are slaughtered at the home of the butcher.

The principal skills involved are removing the hide in good condition (a considerable part of the profit is from the sale of the hide) and in selling the right proportions of the animal.

[437] Individual sales are usually small, and the portions are not weighed. The customer indicates the amount of money she has and presents a bowl. The butcher cuts off proper proportions of meat, bone, a bit of the lungs, and a bit of liver. There is rarely haggling over the amount; if the customer complains, the butcher may add a bit more. Or, if the customer is dissatisfied, she may go to another butcher.

Shops are not open continuously. When a butcher's supply is exhausted, it may be several weeks before he butchers again. A red flag is hung in the street to advertise that meat is for sale.

256 *Nixtamal mills.*—Some seven or eight *nixtamal* mills in Cherán more than supply the demand. To prevent ruinous competition, the *municipio* has limited the number operating on any one day to half the number. As costs of operating the mill for a day are about the same regardless of the number of patrons, this

Low as wages are, Rendón collected an account which indicates that wages were only 12 centavos a day within the lifetime of elderly men. The informant stated that he preferred to work at Nahuatzen because meals were included in the wage, which is not the case in Cherán. This requires verification, as Nahuatzen normally has a larger labor supply than Cherán.

In addition to paid labor or labor for one's own account, men are required to perform certain public services. These include maintenance of the aqueduct and improvement of roads and trails. Young men may also be required to do certain work in connection with fiestas, particularly the fiesta of the patron saint and the Day of the Dead. There is also obligatory assistance of relatives in connection with ceremonials and house moving. These requirements are dealt with later.

No data were secured on the relation between labor demand and labor supply. As indicated by the presence of labor from other towns at some seasons, it is believed that at peak periods there is an undersupply of labor in the town. Much of the year, however, there probably is a labor surplus in the sense that many farmers often have time free which they could use in some other employment were it readily available.

CAPITAL

Efforts to define capital for Cherán meet with the same difficulties that are to be met with in our own society. Money used for purchasing food ordinarily is not considered capital; yet insofar as it makes the individual capable of producing additional goods or services through which his wealth is increased, such money, or stores of food accumulated for this purpose, might be considered capital. Money accumulated to buy land for the production of food for sale or export would usually be considered capital; is the land purchased to be so considered also? In the case of Cherán, I think it is, for, although most farmers would not so regard it, a considerable number of Cherán men have bought land for the express purpose of increasing wealth, not through their own efforts, but through those of a tenant farmer.

253 15 *arrobas* (375 pounds) $90
433 14 *arrobas* (350 pounds) 65
434 16 *arrobas* (400 pounds) 92

Retail price (per kilo) ..... .70
Gross profit on beef (per kilo) ..... .40–.45
Price of pigs ..... 30.00 and up
Gross profit, per week 7.00–8.00
Gross profit, per pig 3.50–8.00

Comment: Returns to butchers are slight on the basis of meat sales. Generally the profit consists of: (a) Meat for the family at no cost, and (b) sale of the hide, usually for $10.00. Most butchers handle beef only, but one who specializes on pork, butchering one or two a week, claimed a profit of 7 or 8 pesos. An item unaccounted for in the figures for beef is a tax of [651] $5.00 on each animal killed. It is also widely believed that some butchers deal in stolen cattle at a considerable profit. Few butchers lack other sources of income, however, which argues against great profits. Butchering also varies in profitableness at various seasons; when cheese is abundant the demand for meat falls off, and the butcher may have to dry part of his meat and sell it at a lower price.

241 *Field watchers:*
434 Wages:
In maize ..... 1 row in 30
Average income for 6 weeks to 2 months (cash value of maize) ..... $60–$65

Comment: Field watchers (*veladores*) must be men of good reputation. Usually they watch 20 to 25 pieces of land. Although wages seem high—$1 a day or more—the work is seasonal and involves staying day and night in the fields.

312 *Water carrying:*
434 Charge for two 25-liter cans $0.06

Comment: Only one man engages in this work regularly. He works fairly steadily, but no data were secured on his income. Presumably it is as good or better than he could earn as a laborer.

231 *Beekeeping:*
12 hives produced:
433 15 liters of honey at $0.60 ..... $ 9.00
434 3–4 kilos of wax at $2.25–$2.50 6.70–10.00
Wax:
1 kilo makes 10–centavo candles worth 3.00– 3.25
3–4 kilos make 10–centavo candles worth 9.00–13.00
Potential income from 12 hives if owner makes candles 18.00–22.00

Comment: In all cases bees are kept as a profitable, but not extremely important, sideline to other activites.

389 *Fireworks making:*
433 Figures from the one fireworks maker in Cherán
434 proved inconsistent upon analysis. The following facts seem reasonable.

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632 He is in charge of the slaughterhouse; the collection of proper taxes and prevention of "black market" slaughtering are his responsibility. He supervises all questions of inheritance and the properties connected therewith, seeing that the heirs receive their due share of property. In cases of quarrels over inheritance, wounds [693] inflicted with knives or pistols, and murders, the *síndico* makes the initial investigations and prepares the papers for submission of the cases to the judge. The *síndico* receives no pay.

Secretary.—The secretary is named by the 632 mayor with the approval of the *ayuntamiento* 217 without a fixed term being set. His duties are to make all classes of documents and to maintain the municipal archives. These include the birth, death, and marriage records of the town. The secretary is paid $1.50 a day. He may augment this sum by preparing private documents for a fee. The office is fairly new; in the childhood of fairly young men there was no secretary. The present incumbent is not a native of the town.

Veedor.—The veedor is named by the *síndico* 632 with the approval of the mayor. He is supposed to see that the water supply is functioning properly and to report any illegal acts. Apparently he receives no pay.

Treasurer.—The treasurer receives all the 632 town funds from various sources, including 651 fines above 1 peso, taxes, assessments, and funds from State and Federal sources. He is responsible for the collection of the small tax on vendors at the markets. He pays all bills of the *municipio* and must keep detailed accounts which are inspected by State officials. The office of treasurer is also new. His pay is 25 percent of the income. There is no term to his office.

Judge.—The judge and his *suplente* are 693 usually elected every 2 years but if the office is 632 satisfactorily filled, the election may not be held for 3 or 4 years. The judge hears all cases certified to him by the *síndico*. He may order brief imprisonment or fines, which are paid to the treasurer, but all serious cases are referred to the district court at Uruapan after a preliminary hearing. This is particularly true of murder cases or serious crimes. The judge reviews all cases of inheritance in which quarrels arise, and all land sales must be authorized

632 12 men under the orders of the *barrio* chief.
625 The latter has the duty of notifying individuals when they are to serve. Each *barrio* provides the *ronda* for a week in turn, and each individual serves a week every time he is called. Theoretically, every adult male is expected to perform this service, but the men over 40 or 50 years and persons of some distinction are seldom if ever asked. One of the assistants in the project, member of the committee in charge of communal property and a school teacher, had not been asked to serve for several years. Neither do the storekeepers serve; instead, they give a package of cigarettes or some 10 centavos to
[431] those who do serve. There is no obligation, nor any regularity, about this gift. The average man who is asked to serve probably is called on four or five times a year.

632 *Comisionados* may also be named if funds are to be raised for some special municipal
651 purpose. The purpose may be to send a delegation to Morelia or Mexico City to look after the interests of the town in some affair, or to purchase material for some public work for which funds are not available in the treasury, such as the materials for the water tanks. This may happen twice in a year or may not occur at all. The *comisionados* are charged with collecting the money in their *barrio* or whatever area is designated.

796 There are many *comisionados* in connection with fiestas. For the fiesta of the patron saint
632 in October, some 70 *comisionados* are named to raise funds for music, fireworks, and other expenses of the fiesta. A group is named by the mayor for each *barrio*, and it has the responsibility of raising money through taking up a collection (or members paying out of their own pockets), conducting negotiations with musicians or fireworks makers, and seeing that the work is completed. In addition, four men are commissioned each to provide a moro
[535] dancer. The *comisionado* has to seek out a dancer, pay for his food and costume, and take care of him during the fiesta. Finally, at least 40 young men (10 or more from each *barrio*) are commissioned to provide poles for building the bull ring. The total for this fiesta is not less than 114 *comisionados*.

For the fiesta of Corpus, eight *comisionados* are named for each *barrio* for each occupation

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.107a]

632 796 represented in the fiesta. Each major traditional occupation is required to hire a band, and the *comisionados* must raise the money by taking up a collection or by paying out of their own pockets. A separate set of *comisionados* is named to take up another collection to hire music for the celebration of the Octava. Voluntary service is also given by the bee hunters. The total *comisionados* for this fiesta probably reaches 250. *Comisionados* for a fiesta often put in many days of labor.

632 651 One final type of *comisionado* should be mentioned, the men named to do communal labor. Probably every eligible man has to put in 2 or 3 days a year on such work. This may be for work assigned to a *barrio*, or it may be some community-wide program such as cutting poles for the erection of an electric light system.

At a rough estimate, probably each man eligible for commissions gives about 14 days or nights of service a year to the community, if it be taken into account that about half the adult males are exempt for reason of age or service such as office holding, school teaching, store keeping, etc. However, the work is probably very unevenly distributed, for there is no systematic method of assignment. A person who raises many objections or who is not in proper economic condition may evade many commissions. For example, no right-minded mayor would commission a poverty-stricken man to bring out a moro. Consequently, persons who are conscientious and do not complain are apt to receive many more commissions than others.

632 625 *Reserva.*—The *reserva* consists of 11 men armed by the Government (State or Federal?) with modern weapons and, in 1940, captained by the real political boss of the town, Moisés Valencia. Although all were agreed that the 11 were chosen by the people, no one seemed to have any idea of the mechanism of choice. In all probability the group was chosen in the same way Valencia was chosen political boss, through aggressiveness in defense of town interests and personal popularity. Even a town the size of Cherán does not need formal elective machinery at times in order to express popular will, as will be seen in the discussion of elections. During the disturbed period in Michoacán during the installation of President Camacho, the reserve received instructions from the military

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

632 district commander to arrest all strangers and
625 send them to Uruapan. So far as I could learn, nothing was done.

Representative of the people.—The represent-
632 ative of the people or *representante* is named by the people at a town meeting along with two other persons, forming an administrative committee. The representative is the *presidente* of the committee, another is a secretary, and the third is an ordinary member or *vocal*. The appointments are confirmed by the Governor and last until the people elect new ones at another *junta* or town meeting. None of the members receives any pay but the work is not onerous. Usually signing a few papers is the major duty. The reward, according to one member of the committee, is in being selected as one of the best "elements" in the town.

632 The collection of funds for use of the forest
651 lands is done by the inevitable *comisionado* system. With the approval and, if necessary, the backing of the mayor and *ayuntamiento*, the committee names the *comisionados* who collect 28 centavos from each householder every 2 months for the right to cut firewood on public lands. This money is used to pay the Federal taxes.

At present no one is supposed to cut wood
632 for lumber, charcoal, posts, etc., without secur-
313 ing a permit from the forestry service. (As
[474] indicated elsewhere, efforts were being made to concentrate all activity in the hands of a cooperative. The description here is of conditions before organization of the cooperative.) To prevent unauthorized exploitation of the forests by Cherán residents, or poaching by persons from other towns, a forester is employed to patrol the woods. The source of pay of the forester is obscure, but he is entitled to make use of a certain amount of fallen timber on his own account and if he encounters poachers from other towns (such as Zacapu, Carapan, and Purépero), he may either confiscate their products and sell them or charge the poachers 20 or 25 centavos for each burro load. The proceeds are kept by the forester.

The institution of the *representante* is rea-
632 sonably old; at least it has been in existence as long as men now living. While the representative apparently has no official responsibility, if things go wrong he is blamed. In 1939, a

665 In relation to external politics, most Cherán
666 inhabitants have little interest. There are many people who are willing to take a free ride to some big rally for one or another presidential candidate, eat heartily of the free meal, and cheer the candidate's speech enthusiastically. The following week they are quite as ready to accept the hospitality of the opposing candidate, and at election time be too disinterested to vote. Not only is interest lacking, but there is considerable cynicism about the external Government agencies. As one humble farmer remarked, *"Almazán o Camacho, ¿que nos importa? Aqui siempre estamos en la riata*—Almazán or Camacho, what does it matter to us? Here we are always in the noose."

484 Some interest is also awakened by the dis-
666 covery of the Indians as a colorful adjunct to ceremonials. At the inauguration of Camacho as president, some Federal agency (probably the *Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas*) took the town officials, the band, and a group of moro dancers to Mexico City. The Cherán citizens lucky enough to get such a trip are always pleased, but it is doubtful whether they are much interested in the reasons.

FISCAL SYSTEM

632 Just as the economy of Cherán in general is
651 partly a money economy, the governmental system is also based partly on money. The presence of hired officials immediately requires some form of cash income for the town. This income is derived from the following sources:

1. Taxes on each beef slaughtered.
2. Taxes of $1.15 on each bill of sale for an animal.
3. Fines.
4. Business licenses. These are collected by the State tax collector, who remits 40 percent of collections to the municipal treasury.
5. Registration of brands. Every cattle [422] brand must be registered and the registry renewed in the first 3 months of each year. This is the biggest source of income for the *municipio*. Three pesos are collected by the *municipio*, which also collects and remits 30 centavos to the State government and 15 centavos to the Federal Government for each brand.
6. Market tax (*piso de plaza*). Every vender in the plaza on Saturdays and at the

632 fiestas (except Corpus) must pay a small tax based on the amount of space occupied. In-
651 come from this source averages $5 or $6 weekly.

7. Certification of documents. This is rather rare, consisting of charges for copies of documents, marriage or birth records, etc.

8. Taxes on forest products. All forest products sold outside the community are taxed by the Federal Government and must be accompanied by a certificate of origin. Dealers in the large centers pay the tax, surrendering the certificate of origin. The Federal Government then remits 30 percent of the tax to the State government and 20 percent to the municipal government.

It should be noted that real estate taxes in [642] Mexico are a monopoly of the Federal Government and there are no local taxes. Ten percent of all local collections other than the registry of brands is paid to the State government and 5 percent to the Federal Government.

The income from all these sources varies. In the first 3 months of the year it may exceed $300 a month. At other times it may be as low as $125 a month. In the year Pedro Chávez was treasurer it totaled about $1,800. In 1940 it must have been considerably higher, [123] but the investigators were already sufficiently on sufferance to be unable to demand access to the current town records.

632 Expenditures against income are as follows:
652

	Per month
Two policemen at $0.75 (a third policeman was added in 1941)	$45.50
Municipal secretary	45.00
Court secretary	30.00
Treasurer (25 percent of income at an estimated $150 monthly average)	37.50
Monthly average	$158.00

In addition, there are some occasional small irregular expenditures, for instance, painting the plaza benches for a fiesta etc. These are small, for the regular expenses pretty well use up the regular income. The treasury usually has only 2 or 3 pesos in it at the end of the year and often shows a small deficit of 10 or even 20 [651] pesos. For this reason, unusual expenditures are financed by a collection.

The treasurer is required to make three types of reports, one to the Federal Treasury Depart-

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.12c] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 565 some extent they also engaged in manufacturing and trade.

Within this system the Indians comprised a special class or caste under a different system of law which gave them specific duties and protections.

[621] The Indian political units were either kept or rearranged through numerous resettlements and patterned after the Spanish township. These communities, after the contact period of the sixteenth century, with their special type of economy and government, form the immediate background for modern developments.

Within the general economic system of the colony, the rôle of the Indian was that of paying tribute and supplying labor to Spanish enterprise. Every Indian town [605] had to pay a fixed tribute on a per capita basis, for which the whole community was held responsible. It was also the town's re- [467] sponsibility to supply a definite number of laborers to be hired by Spanish entrepreneurs. This type of forced labor with pay was called *repartimiento*, *mita*, or *coatequil*.

Indians who left their communities to work permanently in Spanish enterprises, either as free or debt-bond laborers, mixed with Negroes and whites, forming the so-called *castas*, and usually lost their Indian culture and language.

175 621 Throughout post-Conquest times, Indian communities had a great degree of economic and cultural autonomy, but they never were closed units. They comprised only one of several different types of social units in Mexico (haciendas, mining communities, urban centers) which made up Mexican society.

The Indian communities were called, in Spanish, *pueblos* or *repúblicas de indios* (Indian towns or republics). We will use village community or land-holding village as terms known in sociological literature for similar units in other parts of the world. They are Sorokin's Type 1 of rural communities: "a village community of peasant joint owners."[5]

175 621 565 These communities were to some extent economically self-sufficient but by trading, paying tribute, supplying labor to Spanish enterprise, and losing individuals to the growing free lower classes (*castas*), they

5. Sorokin, 1930, 1:560.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 176] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particularly the case in towns near haciendas to which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

These differences in wealth within the villages were responsible for the splitting of the villages into opposite parties in relation to the conflicts unleashed by the Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately owned the agricultural technique demands the cooperation of the whole community. Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

"The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 155.
44. West, 1948, 32-33.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 33; Beals, 1946, 31, 89, 90; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 379; Foster, 1948, 170-1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 289] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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175 794 575 624 Besides the cargueros of the hospital there were other religious officers. Sodalities other than those of the hospitales with funds for the cult were rare, and existed only in very few towns. But as a rule there were also other sponsors of festivals to saints not connected with the hospital. Common to all villages were several sponsors (*capitanes, fiesteros,* or other names) who organized the festival to the patron saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal*, Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 794 651 Financing the cult involved payment of alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments, wafers and wine, etc.) and also the expenses involved in folk ceremonial elements such as the dancers' costumes, banqueting, and other entertainments like fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees were fixed by the Bishop and were called *arancel* (book of rates). They were primarily for mass and the administration of the sacraments. In Michoacan every village had an arancel of its own called *pindecuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pindékua*, custom); besides those fees, the contributions for the support of the priest were mentioned. These were often in kind and were periodical, frequently coinciding with the main festivals. As long as the union of Church and State lasted, these aranceles had also the approval of the civil authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 743 423 575 794 In the eighteenth century, many of the hospitales had property devoted to the support of their activities. Most generally this was in the form of cattle pastured on the village commons. One of the cargueros or a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and received the milk as a personal reward. In other cases, land was also owned by the hospital and worked in common, or more often rented. In one case the hospital

342 weddings, funerals, and *mayordomías*. In the latter type of ceremony, the image of a saint is kept in the house for a year. However, as the use of the house is incidental in all these cases, the ceremonies will not be described. It may be noted, however, that probably the image of a saint would not be entrusted to a family unless it had adequate housing for it. Another special 342 feature in connection with weddings is also worth 585 mentioning. The most important ceremonial directly associated with a structure takes place, not in the house, but in the kitchen. This is a [608] ceremony where all the close relatives of the bride and groom enter into the relationship of the *compadrazgo*, that is, they assume the relationship of godparents to each others' children.

SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

342 The house is involved in a number of social usages and obligations. As a piece of moveable property, it may be sold or inherited independently of the land on which it stands. Sale or inheritance follows the same rules as exist for other property, however. As these rules will be treated in another paper, they will not be repeated here.

Residence rules operate with respect to houses. 591 Normally, after marriage, the bride and groom live for a time in the house of the groom's father. This may continue for several years, but, usually after the birth of a child, if not before, an effort will be made to establish the son in a house of his own. This may be done merely by erecting a separate kitchen for the new household. Ideally, however, the son will have a lot, house, and kitchen of his own. In exceptional cases, however, the family remains as a unit until the death of the father. All the sons live on the same lot, and the father directs economic activities and controls the family treasury. Such a household is said always to separate after the death of the father.

Ownership of a house entails numerous com- 651 munity obligations. A house owner, first of all, must pay taxes to the Federal Government through the local tax office. A percentage of these taxes goes to the municipal government also. The house owner is responsible for the re- 364 pair and cleaning of the street in front of his property. This is not strictly enforced; only street cleaning is demanded and this ordinarily

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 13-a]

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomen-*
● [651] *dero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which demanded indigenous labor were the more important
464 agents in substituting Spanish for the native
167 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern
566 Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

191 Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
177 contributed more than any other factor to the loss of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Tzintzuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 426–427; vol. 6, p. 468; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 256).

313 ing is carried on outside the Sierra. Some beams and planks are cut by the people of Zipiajo and Teremendo, who have large tracts of forest on the slopes of El Zirate, and some farmers of the Lake area and La Cañada cut small amounts of lumber for home use.

313 423 Beals' discussion (1946, pp. 15–19) of legal cutting rights, lumber products, and lumber tools for Cherán can be applied to most of the present Sierra pueblos; therefore, only a summary will be given here. As mentioned above, all Sierra pueblos possess varying amounts of forest land held as common property. Since the late [656] 1930's the Federal Government has attempted to control exploitation by placing all large forest areas under national domain, by encouraging the organization of local lumbering cooperatives, and by periodically inspecting lumbering activities. [651] In most pueblos the Federal tax on lumber products is passed on to the individual woodsmen, who pay the town council a given amount for cutting rights. In other towns lumber cooperatives [474] have been formed to pay the tax, each member contributing dues and having sole cutting rights in the village forest lands.

Although much lumber is for local use (house [439] construction, fences, acqueducts, watering troughs, shakes, etc.), most is cut for the outside market. Raw logs, beams (*vigas*), planks (*vigetas*, *tablas*), and railroad ties of pine and fir are cut and pre- [493] pared for lumber contractors, whose heavy trucks visit the larger villages during the dry season to [492] haul the products to the nearest railhead. Woodcutters of the remote pueblos drag beams and planks to market with the aid of burros and mules. [497] Los Reyes, Tingüindín, Tangamandapio, and Zamora handle the forest products from the western part of the Sierra, while Uruapan, Zacapu, Ajuno Station, and Pátzcuaro serve as lumber points for the eastern section. Formerly a significant forest industry, shake making (performed by skilled specialists) is slowly declining because of the increasing use of tile roofing.[128] Turpentine 314 is no longer distilled locally. (See Beals, 1946, p. 18, for illustration of Tarascan still.) Rather, the resin (*resina*) is gathered in 5-gallon tins and taken to the village, where they are periodically

[128] Although in some pueblos (Paracho and Arantas, Angahuan, Capacuaro) shakes are still made for export to Uruapan, most are used locally. During colonial times and even in the last century large quantities of shakes were shipped from the Sierra to the northern mines, where they were the principal roofing material.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 73-a]

443 438 professional traders gather at Patamban to buy pottery for the various Sunday markets.

Besides the regular weekly markets, in practically every village lively trading accompanies the annual religious or semi-religious celebrations. In some instances such markets are large enough to be termed fairs. Commercially, the most important of the annual fiestas is the pueblo's saint's day, attended by traders and villagers from miles around. Other fiesta markets occur during the Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas celebrations. Often a particular village, such as San Juan Parangaricutiro, holds special religious (and commercial) festivals to honor a special saint or miraculous event.[165]

437 Trading in the market is done mainly on a monetary basis. Little outright bartering takes place. An interesting exception occurs at Erongaricuaro, where wives of fishermen exchange baskets of fresh or dried fish for piles of firewood carried in from the Sierra. Another instance of barter takes place at the Patamban market; there, women from the Pamatácuaro *ranchos* trade tamales for pottery and fruit.

443 The market takes place in the town plaza, and when the number of traders is exceptionally large, some sellers are crowded off into adjoining streets. Each vendor pays the municipal authorities the [651] *piso de plaza*, or tax for the use of a small selling space on the sidewalk. By custom, stalls are segregated according to the type of article sold, pottery being dispensed in one section of the plaza, foods in another, etc. (pl. 14). (See illustration of Chilchota market in Beals, 1946, p. 84.) Except in special markets, such as Patamban, the number of merchants of fruit and vegetables exceeds all others. (See Beals, 1946, p. 82.) Moreover, in the large towns professional mestizo vendors of factory-made clothing, hardware, etc. are numerous, while the Indians selling handicrafts are relatively few.[166] The Pátzcuaro, Erongaricuaro, and Paracho markets, on the other hand, are composed of a much larger percentage of native traders.

444 **The village stores.**—Almost without exception every Tarascan village boasts of at least one store

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[165] Of interest are the Palm Sunday (*Ramos*) fairs held in Peribán, Zamora, Uruapan, and Pátzcuaro. Exchange of *tierra caliente* and *tierra fría* products is particularly significant at these markets.

[443] [438] [166] At the *Ramos* fair at Peribán (April 14, 1946) at least three-quarters of the selling space was occupied by tropical fruit vendors and sellers of factory-

13: Phillips U-4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7
Tarasco N434
Zapotec N444

The Aztec people had, however, some knowledge of metallurgy, for they melted the copper and cast it in moulds, an art which the aborigines in the United States never seem to have acquired. Cortez tells us that in the markets of the City of Mexico

> "hatchets were sold made of copper alloyed with tin and that this alloy was used with a silicious powder with which they cut the hardest stones."

The Spanish historians speak of Cholula, a very ancient City of Mexico, founded before the arrival of the Aztec, which excelled in metal working, and that the Tarascans living west of the valley of Mexico were familiar with copper found in the mountains in that district, which they worked into defensive armor, body plates of wood covered with sheet copper. They also state that the Zapotec made ornaments of copper obtained from the mines in Oaxaca.

Copper implements, however, were not common near the City of Mexico but were plentiful in Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the Jalisco region. The T-shaped implements were found at Mitla, Central America, being abundant in the Zapotec country. The objects, some made of very thin sheet copper, others heavier, possibly cast, are of uncertain use; those too thin to be used as tools for wood or stone, are thought to be instruments used in their feather work or pottery, others regard them as a money currency or exacted as tribute paid to the City of Mexico by the neighboring cities, this latter being the general opinion.

The number as well as the variety of copper objects from Mexico found in our Museum collections, is rather limited, consisting of a few copper ax heads, chisels, large and small, little bells, finger rings, beads and pins. The peculiar T-shaped objects are the most abundant, differing somewhat in shape and size. An analysis of one of them in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, proved it to be simply copper. It was doubtful if the ancient Aztec had a knowledge of bronze or knew how to obtain it until shown by the Spanish invaders, and such analyses of Mexican metal objects, giving a percent of tin to indicate a true bronze, may have been implements made after the instruction by the Spaniards. Some copper tools from Mexico when analyzed showed a small amount of tin believed to have been an impurity in the